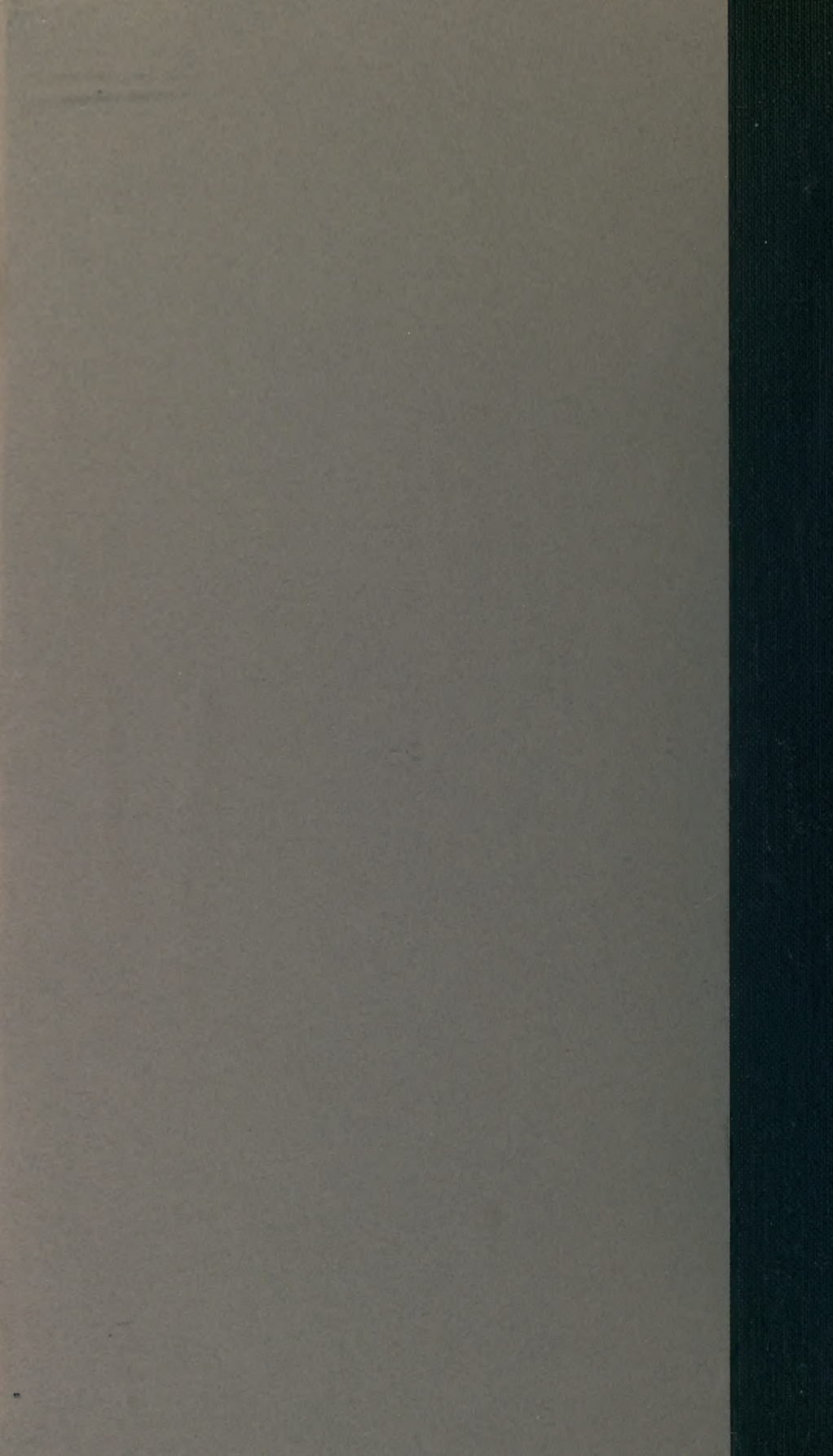


Round Table studies

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ROUND TABLE STUDIES

SECOND SERIES. INSTALMENT E, CONTAINING CHAPTER IX. OF THE ENQUIRY INTO THE NATURE OF CITIZENSHIP IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE, AND INTO THE MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE SEVERAL COMMUNITIES THEREOF, TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A REPORT BY THE DRAFTSMAN ON THE PROGRESS OF THE WORK

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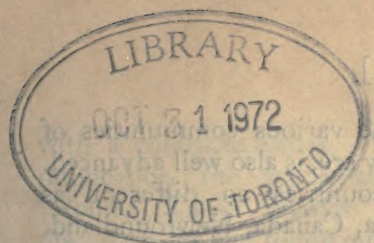
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PROGRESS OF THE ENQUIRY

IN 1910 the first Round Table groups were constituted for the purpose of enquiring into the nature of citizenship in the British Empire and into the mutual relations of the several communities thereof. Preliminary memoranda on the subject were used as the bases of study, and the views thereon of the groups and of the members were collected under the title of 'Round Table Studies' (first series) in two volumes. The first of these was circulated to the groups in 1912, the second in 1914.

All this was preliminary to a comprehensive report upon the whole subject, which was to be prepared for submission to the groups by the general secretary with such assistance as any of the members were able to afford. Several instalments of this draft had already been issued to the groups when, in 1914, the general secretary circulated a statement on the progress of the work, in the form of an address delivered on November 18, 1913, to the Toronto groups. In this statement the plan was indicated upon which the report was being prepared. The subject was to be divided into three parts. Part I. was to show how and why the British Empire came into existence. Part II. was to show what it now has become, tracing its development from the secession of the American colonies to the present day. Part III. was to deal with the future, and was to contain the practical conclusions of the enquiry.

The issue of instalment E at the opening of the year 1915 offers a convenient opportunity for a further statement of progress made. Chapter IX., which this instalment contains, is the concluding chapter of Part I.

Part II., which deals with the various communities of the British Empire as they now are, is also well advanced. Dealing as it must with countries so different as India, Egypt, Tropical Africa, Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the United Kingdom, this second part of the report is being prepared by a number of different draftsmen. The preparation of Part III., which deals with the future and contains the practical conclusions, is also well in hand.

In the Toronto statement referred to above it was proposed that Part III., containing the practical conclusions arrived at, should be so written as to stand by itself. It was therefore to begin with a summary of Parts I. and II. In response to requests made by several groups, a rough draft of Part III. was prepared and circulated in September 1914, and the experience gained thereby has led to a modification of the proposal made in the Toronto statement. Any attempt to condense Parts I. and II. into a few brief chapters necessarily makes those chapters difficult to read. Such chapters prefixed to Part III. would not make it a volume suitable for popular reading, while for those who had leisure to study Parts I. and II. they would be superfluous. Part III. will therefore be confined to the practical conclusions arising from the analysis of the situation made in Parts I. and II.

For those who have not leisure for reading three volumes a short separate volume will be prepared. There will thus be one volume for popular use, and three for those who have the time and disposition to examine the subject more deeply, and to study for themselves the facts and arguments upon which the final conclusions are based.

The circulation of the four previous instalments (A, B, C, and D, containing Chapters I. to VIII. of Part I.) has resulted in very valuable corrections and criticisms, in the light of which the text has now been revised with the assistance of a small committee. These eight chapters, together with Chapter IX. submitted herewith, have now been reprinted in one handy volume

with a complete index. With a view to its ultimate publication the somewhat indefinite description of 'Round Table Studies' (second series) has been discarded for the following title—

THE PROJECT OF A COMMONWEALTH

PART I

The instalments previously issued must now be treated as obsolete, and it is in this revised form that Part I. of the report is finally submitted by the general secretary to the Round Table groups. Copies may be obtained by any one to whom the present instalment is sent for four shillings or one dollar post free, by filling in the form attached hereto. This price represents the lowest round sum which will cover the bare cost of mechanical production and postage. If and when the volume is published, that price will have to be increased to six shillings or one dollar and a half, in order to cover the booksellers' profit and other charges incidental to publication, and the privilege of obtaining it at the lower price must then terminate.

Hitherto the previous instalments and other Round Table Studies have been sent to those interested in the enquiry direct from the printer. A perusal of the final chapter, now submitted with this report, will enable the reader to decide whether he wishes to follow the report to its conclusion. If he does so, it is requested that he will indicate the fact by filling in the attached form and so obtaining Part I., which, as already stated, is ready for issue. The distribution by the printer of Parts II. and III., and of the separate volume for popular consumption will in future be limited to those who have filled in the accompanying form and have obtained the first part of the report as now issued under the title of THE PROJECT OF A COMMONWEALTH.

January 1915.

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CHAPTER IX

THE SCHISM OF THE COMMONWEALTH IN ITS AFTER EFFECTS

HAD Lincoln failed, and had Lee been able to vindicate the principle which determined his own conduct, the work of Washington must have been undone. American society would have dissolved once more into a congeries of sovereign states, whose common interests and mutual disputes would have been subject to no general law, but only, where agreement failed, to the settlement of force. America would have had no law binding upon all and yet capable of being moulded by the experience and opinion of all, and, until the edifice raised by Washington had been restored, the government of American affairs by Americans for Americans would have perished from the soil on which they live.

The real contribution of Americans to the cause of freedom was the effective union of all their states in one greater Commonwealth, and the efforts and sacrifices by which the union of that Commonwealth was preserved. The practice, however, of confusing the revolution which severed the colonies from the parent Commonwealth with this subsequent achievement, has led historians to treat the great schism as itself a notable step in the progress of freedom. At a moment when the liberties of the world are trembling in the balance, it is time to reconsider that judgment. In assisting the American colonies to revolt from the

CHAP. IX

Lincoln's work in saving the freedom established by Washington.

The union of colonies a step towards freedom, but not their secession from the parent Commonwealth.

CHAP.
IX

parent Commonwealth the French monarchy was concerned merely to divide the forces opposed to autocracy against themselves. It succeeded, but the blow recoiled to hasten the downfall of the tottering throne from which it was aimed. But something more than the destruction of monarchy—a change in the national character itself—was necessary for the achievement of freedom in France. A new and far more powerful autocracy was raised by Napoleon on the ruins of the Bourbon throne, and before the close of the century the British Commonwealth was plunged once more into a struggle, upon the issue of which the world's freedom as well as its own existence depended.

The Napoleonic wars were a struggle for freedom in which the British Commonwealth was opposed rather than supported by that of America.

For twenty years that issue hung upon the margin of superior power which the British fleets were able to maintain on the sea. But Napoleon could never have succeeded so far, nor would it have taken so long to defeat him, had the resources of Anglo-Saxon society on both sides of the Atlantic been united against him. As it was, the Americans, not understanding the issues at stake, and misled by the catchwords of the French Revolution, ended by ranging their sea-power on Napoleon's side. In spite of its mutilation the British Commonwealth survived, and in saving freedom for itself saved it for Europe as well as for America. That phase of the struggle was closed, not merely by the victories of Trafalgar and Waterloo, but still more by the subsequent development in France itself of the habits essential to free institutions.

Revival of the principle of autocracy in central Europe.

The conflict, in truth, was one between principles rather than peoples. In England there had developed a system different from any in Europe, and strong enough to claim a share in the world opened by Henry the Navigator. Its future existence depended on its power to assert that claim; and the issue of the conflict

was to determine whether the principle of autocracy or that of freedom was to prevail in the outer world. From the moment when the Spanish Armada left the Tagus, till eleven battered hulks of Napoleon's fleet reeled from Trafalgar into Cadiz, that issue was at stake. There and at Waterloo it was settled outright, so far as the Powers of Western Europe were concerned, and the Anglo-Saxon world went on its way as though there was nobody else to open it. Close upon a century was to pass before it was realized that Europe had been destined to a new birth of autocracy at its centre. In the history of the struggle for the mastery of the seas the name of that race before which Rome trembled in her rise and bowed in her decay, is conspicuous by its absence. That Germany, as such, took no part in it, was, says the 'pupil and successor of Bismarck, 'a prolonged national misfortune, not due to foreigners, but our own fault.'¹ The Germans, organized as a counterfeit state, were blinded to their own essential disunion. Nor had they for the same reason acquired the faculty whereby government is rendered amenable to public opinion.² The convention of a German national Parliament at Frankfort was an attempt to establish popular government and unite Germany by general consent. The attempt was a signal failure, and the union of Germany twenty years later was the work of the Prussian dynasty, accomplished by force.

¹ von Bülow, *Imperial Germany*, p. 111.

² 'I once,' says Prince Bernhard von Bülow, an ex-Chancellor of the Empire, 'had a conversation on this subject with the late Ministerial Director Althoff. "Well, what can you expect?" replied that distinguished man in his humorous way. "We Germans are the most learned nation in the world, and the best soldiers. We have achieved great things in all the sciences and arts: the greatest philosophers, the greatest poets and musicians are Germans. Of late we have occupied the foremost place in the natural sciences and in almost all technical spheres, and in addition to that we have accomplished an enormous industrial development. How can you wonder that we are political asses? There must be a weak point somewhere."—von Bülow, *Imperial Germany*, p. 106.

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IX

Belated
statehood
of the
German
nation the
achieve-
ment of
monarchy.

In 1870 a government which could claim to be that of the German people acquired a voice in the councils of modern Europe for the first time. The immediate results were sufficient to show how seriously the lack of German control over German affairs had affected the peace of all Europe; for the union was followed by forty years of repose, which was broken only in the Balkan Peninsula. At peace with herself, Germany was at length able to develop her natural resources. For the first time free play was given to the inborn vigour, intelligence, and industry of the people. Their wealth increased by leaps and bounds, and with it the strength of their military forces. A nation, which had never been able to speak and act as one, suddenly found itself a power second to none in the councils of Europe. What the German people had failed to effect by mutual consent, their strongest dynasty had accomplished by force of arms. The prestige of autocracy was immensely enhanced by the achievement, and behind the transparent screen of an assembly elected by universal suffrage, German statehood was established on the power of a monarchy backed by the strongest army which the world has seen.

Success
of the
German
autocracy
in con-
trolling
public
opinion.

The result was that instead of public opinion controlling Government the best-educated people in Europe were content that Government should mould public opinion. So recently as 1913 Dr. Walther Rathenau, a man no less distinguished in the world of culture than in the field of industry, expressed himself to a French interviewer as unable to understand a political system which allowed public opinion to influence policy. 'Many of the elements,' he remarked, 'in your social and moral life escape us. For instance, we are not, as you are, in the habit of reckoning with public opinion. With us it does not count for anything. Opinion has never had any

effect on a policy. It resembles rather the chorus of antiquity which looks on and comments on an action unfolding around it. I should compare it to a crowd that accompanies, but is not admitted to the game. It is, therefore, very difficult for us to grasp the mechanism of a public opinion that intervenes in everything, and reigns in politics, in administration, in the army, and is even allowed access to the courts of justice. To us it is absolutely inconceivable.¹

That Government in Germany does not look to public opinion is only one-half the truth. The Prussian autocracy would never have been able to effect or maintain the union had it not seen that the opinion of the most intelligent, educated, and virile people in Europe could not be ignored. Bismarck recognized this, but he also knew that for a people so far developed in other directions their instinct for freedom was singularly weak. In the long struggle of the States for separate existence military despotism had, with the exception of some free cities like Hamburg, been accepted as a necessary form of government, and under its tutelage the German character acquired a curious docility. Public opinion was itself amenable to direction from above. The Press Bureau established by Bismarck was but one of the means expressly devised to secure that people should think what the Government wished they should think. Another, at once more subtle and powerful, is the control which Government has over education. The advice which von Treitschke gave to a young professor, who aspired to success in the world of learning, was above all things to be 'governmental.' Independence of mind, so far as politics are concerned, is a fatal bar to success in the field of learning; yet nowhere else do professors enjoy so high a prestige or exercise so decisive an influence on the public mind.

¹ Bourdon, *The German Enigma*, pp. 128-9.

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IX

It is this docility of a vigorous and intelligent people, turned to its own uses by an indefatigable Government, which explains why a legislature, elected by universal suffrage, with full control of supply, has never secured an executive responsible to itself. Of course that assembly has not always been willing to adopt the measures of the Government. Yet whenever a deadlock has threatened, the Government has appealed to the people, and so far a majority has always been found to support it against legislators of their own previous choice. That a people in the forefront of civilization should produce the most powerful autocracy ever seen in the modern world is a singular phenomenon, and centuries of disunion suddenly ended by the master-strokes of the Prussian dynasty furnish the key to it.

Recur-
rence of
the
conflict
between
the prin-
ciple of
despotism
and that
of the
Common-
wealth.

Between such a system and those in which public opinion is the guiding as well as the actuating force, a spiritual conflict is inherent. Unquestionably the progress which government by public opinion has made in Europe is mainly due to the infectious example of the British and American Commonwealths. It is they which have acted as 'seminaries to seditious parliaments,'¹ inspiring the French Revolution, which in turn excited a demand for constitutions in Germany itself, and obliged Government to devise expedients for keeping public opinion in control. With a people so intelligent such expedients were bound to fail sooner or later. A time was certain to come when the electorate would close its ears to the appeals of the Government and return a legislature pledged to refuse them; and whenever this happened the autocracy must either yield to responsible government or else suspend the constitution. The Emperor must face the two alternatives.

¹ See above, p. 196, and also the passage quoted from Woodrow Wilson, p. 75.

He must either renounce his claim that he is answerable to God rather than man, and bow to the majority, or else the majority must bow to the armies which look to the War-lord as their chief. The balance between an autocracy and a popular legislature is in the long run just as impossible to maintain in Germany as in any other part of the civilized world. The one must encroach upon the other, and until commonwealths are blotted from existence and their memory forgotten among men, their example will continue to dissolve the primitive and supernatural ideas which afford the only moral foundations upon which the principle of autocracy can rest. Its immediate basis, however, is military force, and the readiness of an army to obey the man at its head rather than the law, in the event of a conflict between the two, will decline unless it is occasionally exercised in war. Fear of a peace too long unbroken which inspired the first and third Napoleon prevails no less in those sections of Prussian society which uphold the principle of personal rule.¹

To commonwealths war is a visitation to be faced, like famine or pestilence, only with the purpose of preventing its recurrence and protecting the liberty for which they stand. By the ruling classes in Prussia it is treated as a wholesome as well as a necessary exercise, and naturally they look upon the opposite opinion as a confession of weakness and a symptom of national decay. To them Britain is a power which has used the dissensions of Europe to annex a quarter of the world, and has now by its decadence lost any title to empire which it ever

¹ 'The landed nobility . . . which forms a hierarchy of which the King of Prussia is the supreme head, sees with terror the democratization of Germany and the growing force of the socialist party.'—*Confidential Report to M. Stephen Pichon, Minister for Foreign Affairs, on German public opinion, according to French diplomatic and consular agents. Paris, July 30th, 1913. Yellow Book published by the French Government, December 1914 (English translation), p. 16.*

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IX

Project of
imposing
"German-
ism" on
the world
contrasted
with un-
conscious
utility of
the
principle
embodied
in the
British
Common-
wealth.

possessed. To men honestly convinced that in politics 'might is also the supreme right,'¹ and firmly believing in their own nation as the strongest in the world, it is intolerable that Britain should continue to rule a quarter of its surface. World-empire, and its necessary condition, the mastery of the seas, could scarcely seem otherwise than the natural inheritance of a nation that had won the hegemony of Europe.

The Germans, however, have not been content to rest their claim to world-supremacy merely on superior force, nor indeed have they needed to do so. Their nationalism, suddenly realized, has made them vividly conscious of their own pre-eminence in music, literature, learning, philosophy, science, and the industrial arts. They have evolved a culture which they rightly regard as the greatest of national achievements, and this consciousness has effected them in much the same way as the sense of a newly acquired liberty affected the French. To France her freedom seemed so glorious a thing that she deemed herself destined to enforce it on the world. And so with the suddenly realized nationalism of the Germans. Justly enamoured with the splendour of their own civilization, they conceive themselves as charged with a mission to do for mankind what Prussia did for Germany herself.

'Neither the ridiculous clamours for revenge of the French jingoes, nor the English gnashing of teeth, nor the wild gestures of the Slavs, will turn us from our end, which is to strengthen and to extend *Deutschtum* (Germanism) throughout the entire world.'² The words are those of an official, but they reflect sentiments prevalent in learned, and even in religious circles, which have served to invest schemes of far-reaching conquest with the glamour

¹ von Bernhardt, *Germany and the Next War*, p. 23.

² *Secret Report on the strengthening of the German Army, Berlin, March 19, 1913. Yellow Book published by the French Government, December 1914 (English translation), p. 8.*

of a crusade. The German nation is honestly concerned to achieve greatness by spreading its own culture over all the world, blind to the truth that for each individual and race the only culture is their own. The system which the world most needs is that which best enables each man and each community of men to develop their own character, and develop it, so far as may be, for themselves. Like all people bred to autocracy, the Germans have failed to see that this Empire which includes a quarter of the world has grown in response to this need, and has only endured because it has shown itself better able to respond to it than others. Its kingdom was one that came not with observation. Had Napoleon conquered the world, his empire would not have endured, because it was a project deliberately conceived, and not one which grew from human needs too wide and deep to be wholly conscious. And so with the Latin Emperor's Teutonic heir. If Germany were to conquer the world, she could not hold it or compel it to be German. The only empires which persist are those which are neither Spanish, French, German, nor British, but human. For empires cannot be held as Napoleon would have held Europe, or Germany has held Posen or Alsace-Lorraine. Empires must hold together, and that they can do only in so far as the peoples they include find that they answer to the needs not of one, but of all. The British Empire has held together in so far as Britain has discovered principles and evolved a system which are not British but human, and can only endure in so far as it grows more human still. 'It was not the Romans that spread upon the world; but it was the world that spread upon the Romans, and that was the sure way of greatness.'¹

¹ Bacon's *Essays*, xxix.

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IX

Freedom
jeopardized by
the schism with
America,
as shown
by the
present
peril of
the British
Common-
wealth.

Bacon's aphorism is far more nearly applicable to the Commonwealth planted by the country of his birth. Many and various nations have spread their branches upon it, covering its frame so closely that they are prone to forget that it is there. Only when the storm strikes it do they realize what freedom their growth has gained from its support, or what fair promise of flower and fruit would perish in its fall. The principle of freedom, like that of life, is indestructible, but not the systems through which it is realized, and many harvests of liberty may be lost in their ruin, to the lasting impoverishment of the world. It is idle to suggest that so many men would be so free as they now are if Britain had perished in the struggle with France and Spain. It is equally futile to question that freedom would sustain the most serious check it has ever received if the British Commonwealth were to perish in the present struggle, its Dominions yielding to the virtual control, and its great dependencies to the direct authority of Prussia. We have but to imagine the United Kingdom reduced to the position of Denmark or Holland, trembling at the Prussian nod, India and Africa ruled from Berlin, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand unable to withstand the dictates of a power dominant at sea as well as in Europe, to realize the disastrous nature of a schism which has led the hundred millions who now inhabit the United States to treat the American continent as a separate planet consecrated to liberty, and to regard the freedom of nations outside it, and the task of extending its principles to Asia and Africa, as beyond the range of their active interest.

The creation of a system whereby the principle of the commonwealth could be realized for a territory so much vaster than the British Isles as is that of the United States was a notable step in the history

of freedom ; and, as will be seen at a later stage of the inquiry, it was one which made possible an organization on similar lines in Canada, Australia, and South Africa. The British Commonwealth owes an immeasurable debt to the example set by the first colonies after their secession. But to represent the schism itself as a step in the history of freedom argues a failure to grasp what freedom means, or to recognize the persistence of the forces by which it is threatened. Across the Atlantic the people of the British Isles had planted free communities in a virgin soil. The expansion of the Commonwealth to America was of supreme importance because it meant that people from all Europe who settled there were to leave behind them the traditions of Roman autocracy to inherit those of Teutonic self-government. But were they to inherit freedom merely for themselves, or were they to take their share in the task of guarding the freedom of younger and weaker communities? Nay, rather were they to assume a share in the greatest and most delicate of all human tasks, only to be accomplished by centuries of labour—the task of opening freedom to the backward races of the world? So far as that part of America which is now included in the United States is concerned, these questions were destined to be answered in the negative. The burden was not to be assumed by the people who now inherit the first colonies of the British Commonwealth. Neither in Britain nor yet in the colonies was forthcoming the vision to foresee the widening tasks of the great Commonwealth, nor the statesmanship to initiate the future inhabitants of America thereto. The first opportunity of realizing this project of a commonwealth was missed, and never were the springs of human endeavour more perilously weakened, nor the hands which

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The
schism
of the
Common-
wealth a
set-back to the
cause of
freedom.

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IX

The
British
Common-
wealth
saved after
the loss of
America
by the
Industrial
Revolution.

record its triumphs more grievously stayed on the dial of time.

That the schism of 1783 did not lead to a positive set-back in the history of freedom was due to a contemporary revolution in industrial methods. An access of wealth secured for Britain by a sudden advance in mechanical invention alone enabled her to defeat the forces which Napoleon marshalled against her. 'The fact is that the triumphant issue of the great French war was largely, if not mainly, due to the cotton-mill and the steam-engine. England might well place the statues of Watt and Arkwright by the side of those of Wellington and Nelson, for had it not been for the wealth which they created she could never have supported an expenditure which, during the last ten years of the war, averaged more than eighty-four millions a year, and rose in 1814 to one hundred and six millions, nor could she have endured without bankruptcy a national debt which had risen in 1816 to eight hundred and eighty-five millions.'¹ In its immediate as well as in its ultimate results the Industrial Revolution is comparable only to that earlier revolution in methods of transport effected by Henry the Navigator. Britain acquired a singular facility for converting cotton, wool, and other products of the distant continents into articles of human consumption. The wealth which she drew from these manufactures enabled her to vanquish Napoleon and to save freedom for a world which he tried to combine for her destruction.

The second
British
Empire,
a product
of the
Industrial
Revolution,
has de-

The movement, which for three centuries had been bringing the people of all the continents into closer touch with each other, was suddenly accentuated by the need of British manufactures for raw materials of every kind. Their insular position, which pro-

¹ Lecky, *History of England*, vol. vii. p. 280.

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IX

veloped into
a system for
the general
protection
of liberty
and its
gradual ex-
tension to
the back-
ward races.

tected the British Isles from the ravages of war and enabled their inhabitants to develop new industrial methods, gave them a lead in the field of production; and this lead went unchallenged till the union of Germany secured the first long period of peace, not merely to Germany herself, but to Western Europe. It was therefore, with minor exceptions, the people of Britain, not those of Europe, who came in touch with the distant continents. It was they who colonized Canada, which the Loyalists, driven from the United States, together with the French settlers, had occupied as an outpost of the older Commonwealth in the continent which the new one aspired to monopolize. It was they who continued the settlement of South Africa, begun by the Dutch, and who colonized New Zealand and the continent of Australia. It was British traders who came into ever closer contact with the ancient peoples of Asia, Africa, and the Southern Seas. Ere the nineteenth century was reaching its close, the British had extended their dominion over most of the vacant territories open to settlement, and the greater part of the races who inhabit the Tropics. Trade led to dominion, and in laying the foundations of their own freedom the people of the United Kingdom were committed to the government of vast multitudes of men unable to govern themselves. In doing so they rose, however imperfectly, to the conception that freedom is the ultimate goal of government, not only for themselves, but for the backward races as well. They grasped the principle that these races are not to be treated as instruments of the Commonwealth, but as ends in themselves, and are to be included in its circle and recognized as co-heirs of the spiritual inheritance which it exists to realize. They are to be incorporated in a state which, before all others, has stood for self-government, precisely for

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the reason that they are as yet unequal to that task, but always with the end in view that in time they may learn to rise to it. The British, of course, had no such object in visiting the distant continents. No more is it to promote their future welfare that an industrialist employs thousands of workmen. Yet having employed them, he contracts a moral responsibility for their welfare, which, in so far as he is a man capable of rising above mere appetite for wealth, he will begin to recognize. And so with the British people when contracting commercial relations with the peoples of India and Africa. The task opening before them in the nineteenth century was, not merely to plant in the still vacant regions of the earth kindred communities capable of governing themselves, but slowly to indoctrinate the rudiments of freedom in alien societies who had yet to study its grammar and syntax. For the vast section of the backward races included in its circle the British Commonwealth is the best, and for the time being the only earnest of liberty, as they themselves have realized now that its existence is visibly threatened.¹ The people of Britain have learned to regard them as fellow-citizens incorporated in the same Commonwealth with themselves to the intent that they may qualify for those fuller privileges which, when rightly viewed, are coincident with its wider tasks. Freedom, like the principle of life in the physical world, is inseparable from growth. Commonwealths are the corporeal frame in which it is incarnate, and they cease to flourish when they cease to extend the principle that inspires them in an increasing degree to an ever-widening circle of men. To have gathered to itself so vast a proportion of the races who have yet to learn what freedom means is the surest proof that the Commonwealth is

¹ See Note A at end of this chapter, p. 703.

still true to the principle which inspires it. The British Empire is not the less a commonwealth, but rather the more so, for having admitted countless multitudes whose political notions have not yet risen beyond the duty of obedience to a tribal patriarch or a monarch invested with divine authority. In truth, this world-wide state is not, as some historians have vainly taught, an outcome of blunders, accidents, and crimes, but of the deepest necessities of human life. It is the project of a system designed on the only scale which is capable of meeting those needs.

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One of the worst consequences of the schism which alienated the people of the United States from the parent Commonwealth has been its effect in limiting their conception of liberty and of the duty which free communities owe to their fellow-men. The nature of their quarrel with Britain committed them to the view that parliamentary government is coincident with freedom, and not merely a highly advanced stage in its achievement. In their subsequent experience there was little to bring home to them the truth that freedom is an art whose elements must be acquired as a second nature before it can be practised. Cut off from the British Commonwealth, the Americans were divorced from the obligations of a higher civilization about to be laid upon it. They ignored the fact that the majority of mankind are still incapable of self-government, and that unless governed by commonwealths they must, in the alternative, be ruled by states little disposed to lay the foundations of a system at variance with their own.

Effect of
the schism
in divorc-
ing the
people of
the United
States
from re-
sponsibili-
ties for
backward
races.

From the ultimate error of supposing that a nation is not called upon to vindicate freedom, except for itself, the people of the United States were saved by the magnitude of the continent in which they lived. Some years after Napoleon's fall, the monarchs of Russia, Austria, and Prussia combined in a 'Holy

The United
States im-
pelled by
threats of
the Holy
Alliance to
champion
freedom
throughout
the
American
continent.

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Alliance' to resist the growth of popular government.¹ In 1823 the allied sovereigns addressed themselves to the task of restoring the principle of autocracy, not merely in Europe but in Spanish America, where monarchy was fast tottering to its fall. This meant the exclusion of Great Britain from trade with Spanish America; and Canning suggested to Rush, the American Ambassador, that the United States should combine with Great Britain to confine the activities of the Holy Alliance to the continent of Europe. 'When Rush's despatches relating his interviews with Canning reached Washington in September (1823) the President was plunged into a sea of doubt and perplexity. He fully realized the importance of the question as he saw plainly the approach of the dreaded clash; it was the spirit of absolutism, angered and jealous, which was seeking to arrest the progress of democracy in the Western Hemisphere. To him the subjugation of the South American colonies by France, or by the combined forces of the Holy allies, pointed directly to the absorption of those colonies by the great powers and their forcible return to the sway of imperialism. It meant the hedging in of the United States by its natural enemies, and the possible overthrow of republican institutions at home.'² Monroe consulted his predecessors in the presidential office, including Jefferson, who, writing from Monticello on October 24, 1823, replied as follows:—

'The question presented by the letters you have sent me is the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of Independence. That made us a nation, this sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time opening on us. And never could we embark on it under circumstances more auspicious.

¹ See above, p. 85.

² Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*, p. 321.

Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs. America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe. While the last is laboring to become the domicil of despotism, our endeavour should surely be, to make our hemisphere that of freedom. One nation, most of all, could disturb us in this pursuit; she now offers to lead, aid, and accompany us in it. By acceding to her proposition, we detach her from the band of despots, bring her mighty weight into the scale of free government, and emancipate a continent at one stroke, which might otherwise linger long in doubt and difficulty. Great Britain is the nation which can do us the most harm of anyone, or all on earth; and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. With her then, we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship; and nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more, side by side, in the same cause. Not that I would purchase even her amity at the price of taking part in her wars. But the war in which the present proposition might engage us, should that be its consequence, is not her war, but ours. Its object is to introduce and establish the American system, of keeping out of our land all foreign powers, of never permitting those of Europe to intermeddle with the affairs of our nations. It is to maintain our own principle not to depart from it.' ¹

Madison wrote in a similar strain, and the result was Monroe's famous message to Congress of December 2, 1823, in which he announced that the designs of the Holy Alliance with reference to Spanish America

¹ Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions*, pp. 321-2.

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IX

Outside
America
the general
responsibility
for the main-
tenance and
extension
of freedom
throughout
the world was
concentrated
on the
British Isles.

would be regarded as a menace to the United States and resisted as such.¹

Responsibility for the cause of freedom throughout the entire length of the American continent was thus consciously assumed by the people of the United States. But they were never called upon to make any serious effort or sacrifice in its cause. The secession of the American colonists had not altered the fact that the British Commonwealth could not afford to see the principle of autocracy established over any considerable portion of the distant continents. The survival of that principle in Europe was still the real menace to freedom, and the task of grappling with it was left to the people of the British Isles. The final and only effective pledge for the liberties of the world was the mastery of the sea in the hands of a state which stood for freedom, and the defection of the American colonies left that burden to rest where it had previously rested—with the British Isles. From the time of Monroe, the supremacy of Britain at sea was tacitly accepted as a shield behind which the people of America could live, without concerning themselves with the affairs of the older world. In 1823 the United States would scarcely have been strong enough to defy the concerted autocracies of Europe, unless the President had known that he could count on British support. But, before the middle of the century, the Republic could have built and maintained fleets stronger than any which the enemies of freedom in Europe could have placed in the Atlantic. Yet no such effort was made in America. The people of the British Isles, as the price of their own existence, were still obliged to face any sacrifice necessary to retain the control of the sea, and, so long as they are able to do so, no commensurate sacrifice is imposed on the United States.

¹ See Note B at end of this chapter, p. 705.

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Results of the schism, (1) that the Americans, divorced from the ultimate problems of politics, have failed to grasp their nature or to contribute materially to their solution.

As in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, so in the nineteenth, the British Commonwealth, as the price of its own existence, was forced to extend its commerce and settlements to the uttermost parts of the world. It was the people of Britain who were brought thereby into touch with the ultimate problem of politics, that which arises from the mutual contact of the principal families of mankind, and of one level of civilization with another. It was they who learnt by experience that those relations cannot be limited to trade. It was they who were forced by responsibility to recognize that a civilized state must intervene to redress the anarchy into which traders, armed with the resources of civilization, plunge the society of primitive races. It was they who recognized first the necessity and then the duty of creating a new order in the wake of, and indeed in advance of, trade. It was they who in time came to recognize that order itself is to be valued only as the necessary foundation for the further extension of liberty. It was the older Commonwealth, and not the new one, which was led by contact with ultimate facts to assume the task of preparing for freedom the vast multitude of human beings who have yet to realize what freedom means. Cut off from this experience, the people of the United States have never yet awoken to these primary truths. As a practical people, they have assumed the right of the continents to trade with each other, and the necessity of their doing so ; but they have never faced the evident truth that those relations cannot in the end be limited to trade. On the contrary, they have fallen into the habit of regarding the government of backward races as a crime rather than a duty.¹ A

¹ 'The United States Ambassador, Dr. Page, speaking last night at a dinner given by the Newcastle and Gateshead Chamber of Commerce, in Newcastle, said that if anyone thought that the United States would acquire Mexico or establish a protectorate over it they missed the key to the whole development of Republican institutions. The Mexicans were sus-

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slight deviation from that principle, made in the Philippines as the direct consequence of the Spanish War, has since remained like a thorn in the national conscience. The Democratic party, at present in power in the United States, is expressly committed to reversing that act.

(2) That the Americans have never arisen to the conception of a commonwealth wider than one based like their own on a common nationhood.

The general result is that the United States, a free state which contains more than twice the population of the British Isles, has never advanced beyond the conception of the national commonwealth. Americans have fallen into the habit of treating their continent as a sanctuary to which the people of Europe must come if they desire to enjoy the blessings of freedom. But the presence of the negro in their midst has taught them that a mixture in one country of an advanced with a backward civilization is itself the greatest menace to liberty, and it has become the cardinal principle of their system that this sanctuary is to be closed, so far as may be, to all but the children of Europe. To the question, how the majority of mankind who are not Europeans are to be initiated to the mysteries of freedom, they have never felt themselves called upon to provide an answer.

The people of the British Commonwealth educated by contact with facts to the conception of a commonwealth which is neither British nor national, but human in its scope.

For the older Commonwealth, it has been left slowly and painfully to feel its way to the truth that the merely national commonwealth is no more commensurate to the needs of the modern world than the city republic in the age of Edward I. The task of creating a system whereby not cities nor classes, but whole peoples, sundered by all the width of the world, and drawn from every level of human progress, can be rendered subject to the rule of a common law, and that law itself rendered amenable to public opinion,

pious of the United States, unfortunately, because they did not know that the one fundamental and unalterable fact of the policy and principle of the United States—that which clinched it as a key-stone—was that people must govern themselves. There was no receding from that principle. It applied to Mexico and all other Southern States.'—*The Times*, February 7, 1914.

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has remained where it rested in the eighteenth century—with the Commonwealth which centres in the British Isles. It is an immense step in the history of the world, the greatest ever made, that a quarter of its inhabitants, and that quarter an epitome of all the stages of human development, should have been united into one international state, without that state abandoning, as did Rome, the principle of the commonwealth for that of autocracy.

To endure, however, a commonwealth must contain a sufficient proportion of citizens competent to share in the tasks of its government, and, in fact, sharing them. No people are more keenly alive to the importance of this principle than the Americans themselves. Their marked reluctance to consider the inclusion of Mexico in their Commonwealth is a case in point. The prospect, indeed, would lose half its terrors if the inclusion of Mexico in the Union could be counterbalanced by the inclusion of Canada. It is now, rather than in 1783, that the nature of the blow dealt to freedom by the great schism is becoming apparent. The two and a half millions of citizens capable of government, of which the British Commonwealth was then deprived, were but a fraction of its future losses. During and after the Napoleonic wars the population of the United Kingdom was pouring into the United States, impelled in no small degree by the poverty to which those wars had reduced the labouring classes. The factory system, created by the Industrial Revolution, while enormously increasing the wealth of the few, swelled the number of the poor and greatly enhanced the dreariness of their lot. Millions found new homes in America, and it was not until 1838 that more than five thousand emigrants in any one year turned elsewhere. During the period when the Commonwealth was absorbing multitudes of Asiatics and Africans, the natural in-

Effect of the schism in reducing the proportion of citizens in the British Commonwealth fit to share in the task of its government.

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What results would have followed the incorporation of America with the British Commonwealth.

crease of its ruling race was largely diverted to the territories it had lost.

In order to grasp the significance of those facts it is necessary to suppose that in the nineteenth as well as in the previous century the statesmanship needed to avoid the schism had not been wanting. Clearly it is not thinkable that the hundred millions who now inhabit the United States could be members of a world-wide commonwealth, for the conduct of whose external affairs they exercised no greater control than do the people of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, or South Africa. In the long run the schism could only have been avoided had constitutional changes been made whereby the inhabitants of North America would have assumed precisely the same responsibility for the general affairs of the Commonwealth as that which rests on the people of the British Isles. It is needless to discuss here whether such changes could in fact have been made; but supposing that they had been effected, supposing that the people of North America had contracted exactly the same responsibilities for the inhabitants of Asia and Africa as those assumed by the people of the British Isles, it is not unreasonable to argue they would have developed an attitude of mind on the subject not different from theirs. Experience would have led them to see that more primitive societies are invariably deranged by unregulated intercourse with Europeans, which must be controlled because it cannot be prevented; that the people of Europe cannot touch more primitive societies without deranging them. They would have recognized that the stronger civilization has a responsibility for the weaker which it cannot evade. No thoughtful man would question the principle, and had the United States become an organic part of the British Commonwealth its people must also have realized that the responsibility is one

that civilized men can discharge only when organized as a state, and through the agency of a government.

Had American society remained with, and become an organic part of the Commonwealth, its future composition would not have been affected thereby. It would still have become, as Canada is fast becoming, not merely British, but European. America would still have afforded an asylum for emigrants from all the kingdoms of Europe, and a school in which the traditions of autocracy could be unlearned and exchanged for those of the commonwealth. But on entering it, they would also have assumed the first of all human responsibilities, while those from the British Isles would not have abandoned it. Whilst enlarging its bounds in Asia, Africa, and the Pacific so as to include hundreds of millions who must for centuries remain incapable of assuming the burden of government, the Commonwealth would simultaneously have been drawing from Europe millions capable of reinforcing the moral as well as the material resources of government. To-day some forty-five millions of Europeans are responsible for the peace, order, and good government of some three hundred and fifty millions of the backward races—close on one-third of the non-European races of the world. But had the Commonwealth preserved its unity, by realizing the principle upon which it is based, that stupendous burden would to-day have rested upon upwards of one hundred and fifty million citizens qualified for the tasks of government. A much larger proportion of civilized men would be organized to fulfil the first duty of civilization. And had means been found for incorporating the Americas, the same solution must also have been applied in the colonies south of the line. The government of the Commonwealth would not have rested, as it still does, on a single column with a base no broader than the British Isles. This

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Its ultimate
effect on
the peace of
the world.

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world-state which gives, not only to its members, but to all human society, such stability as it now has, would have rested on an arch which, double spanned, and based on foundations in four of the continents, would have been unshakable in its strength. Such projects as it is now taxed to defeat could never have been conceived. Instead of striving to avert destruction, it would have put itself outside the reach of such projects, which cannot be attempted without involving the greater part of the world in war, and dislocating the whole framework of human society. The primary function of a world-commonwealth is to prevent such wars, and that it can do, if all its citizens capable of government are really responsible in peace for maintaining peace; but so long as none but the inhabitants of the British Isles are really responsible for preventing war, the relative strength of the Commonwealth will continue to decline. The chance of suddenly striking at its heart will encourage autocracies to prepare the blow. Such periods of world-war as closed in 1815 and opened once more in the present year are possible only when the British Commonwealth becomes weak enough to invite destruction. And if destroyed, the epoch of cataclysm would never be closed until there had emerged from the ruins a like commonwealth, and one resting on wider foundations.

The
Imperial
problem
and what
it is.

How to cure this defect by extending responsibility for the general peace of the Commonwealth from the British Isles to all the self-governing Dominions is the problem we are facing to-day, but one never presented to the American colonies. They had never demanded a voice in the issues of peace and war, as Scotland had done, and had never been asked to share in the burdens involved, except in so far as their own local defence was concerned. The quarrel which led to the schism grew out of

the general failure to realize a system through which Americans could manage the 'dominion' affairs of America for themselves. By the younger colonies that problem has now been solved. The people of Canada have evolved a system whereby they have assumed a genuine responsibility for all Canadian affairs; and so also with the peoples of Australia and South Africa, following in their steps. All this, unlike the Americans, they have done without disrupting the Commonwealth. The question, then, which still awaits its solution is, how they are to assume a genuine responsibility for the first, last, and greatest of all public interests, those which determine the issues of peace and war. Short of that final responsibility the growth of self-government can no more be stayed in the Dominions than it could be in Britain or in the United States; and until that final responsibility is shared between all the peoples of the self-governing Dominions with those of the United Kingdom, this Empire will remain what it has been, since its first colonies were planted in Ireland, not a commonwealth, but the project of a commonwealth, which must be completed if it is not to be brought to an end.

If the nature of the Commonwealth be considered the thing is self-evident. It is a state in which government rests on the shoulders of all its citizens who are fit for government. It exists to enlarge that class, and can afford to spare from its difficult task none who are equal to sharing it. A commonwealth in which the final responsibilities of government have come to be regarded as the peculiar attribute of citizens inhabiting one locality is ceasing to realize the principle of its being. The American Commonwealth could never have endured if the powers and burdens of the general government had been limited to the states which formed the original

To endure, the Commonwealth must be realized by extending the ultimate burden and control of government to all the self-governing Dominions.

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union. The loyalty of the West would have atrophied, and the project of a commonwealth wide enough to unite the shores of the Atlantic with those of the Pacific would never have matured. From the fatal schism of the eighteenth century many truths have been learned and applied in the older Commonwealth, but this, the most vital of all, has not been amongst them. The final responsibility for its maintenance was then limited to Great Britain, and has never since been extended beyond the British Isles. It is true to say that self-government has never been realized for any portion of this vast Commonwealth other than the United Kingdom itself. It is there and there only that political responsibility for the maintenance of freedom throughout this vast structure rests, and with it the future of freedom in all the continents but that of America. This, at any rate, can be prophesied with absolute certainty, that the British Empire, as at present established, cannot endure, unless it can realize its character as a commonwealth in time, by extending the burden and control of its supreme functions to every community which it recognizes as fit for responsible government. Unless that is done the self-governing Dominions must inevitably follow to the bitter end the path trodden by the first American colonies. This project of a commonwealth, through which an ever-increasing circle of civilized men can discharge their duty, not merely to each other, but also to races weaker and more backward than themselves, will fail, and in that failure freedom will suffer more than it suffered by the schism of the eighteenth century.

Attempts
to ignore
these
truths
the worst
danger to
freedom.

It is idle to deplore a past we cannot change. Our duty is to see the past as it was in the light which the present casts upon it, to see failures as failures, and not to flatter our vanity by treating

them as triumphs in disguise. For, if the world's freedom, rather than national exploits, are the true goal of political endeavour, the schism of the Commonwealth in the eighteenth century was a failure second to none. Now, as then, the real danger to freedom is failure to understand what it means, or to see that it can only be realized through the medium of states in which it is incarnate. But most dangerous of all is the failure to realize that the Commonwealth cannot endure unless it fulfils the principle of its being. Burke and his contemporaries could scarcely have foreseen that the British Commonwealth was destined in less than a century to include one-quarter of mankind; but he, at any rate, should not have mistaken the British constitution, as it then stood, for the last word in the progress of liberty. A mind like his might well have divined that the growth of self-government in the colonies could not be arrested short of the point already attained in England itself. It is not for us to blame our predecessors, but it is only by seeing their errors that we can hope to avoid them and 'duller should we be than the fat weed that rots itself in ease on Lethe's wharf' if we suffered ourselves to believe that the modern Dominions can for ever forgo the burden of controlling their foreign affairs. Now, as then, there are not wanting those who seek to evade this conclusion by contending, either that the Imperial Government represents the Dominions, or else that the British voters, to whom it is answerable, do not control it in foreign affairs. In their zeal to justify things as they are, they treat the elementary conditions of responsible government either as illusions, or as dust which governments must use for blinding the eyes of those they rule. Aversion to the effort which change requires dominates their minds, and so in 1914 as in 1785 they proclaim that the growth

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of the Commonwealth is now complete, and that for us it remains merely to preserve it for ever as it is.

Nought in the distance but the evening, nought
To point our footsteps further !

At the thought,
A great black bird, Apollyon's bosom-friend,
Sailed past, nor beat his wide wing dragon-penned
That brushed our cap—*perchance the guide we sought !*

Conclusion
of the whole
matter.

In truth there is unity in human affairs, and laws which work themselves out with the same unpromising logic as those of Nature herself. It is not by ignoring those laws, but only by learning and obeying them willingly, that men may reach to freedom and dominate fate. The claim which a commonwealth makes on its citizens is in its nature absolute as that which a despotism makes on its subjects, and allegiance can no more be rendered by one citizen to two commonwealths than homage can be paid by one subject to two kings. The people of Britain and those of the Dominions have yet by some solemn and irrevocable act to decide whether, in the last analysis, it is to this mighty Commonwealth as a whole, or merely to the territory in which they live, that their final allegiance is due. Citizens of no mean city, we have yet to declare what for us and for those who come after us that city is to be. There is the Imperial Problem, the final enigma, whose answer the secular sphinx abides, knowing that, as it is found or missed, so, for this, the noblest project of freedom that the world has seen, are the issues of life and death. But at least the terms of the riddle are clear, as they were not to those by whom this Commonwealth was rent in twain. They were men who knew not what they did, men for whom it was difficult to foresee the tasks which time would impose upon it, or how heavy the freight and

how dear the treasure which freedom was committing to its charge. For they saw too dimly the path by which they had come to descry the goal to which it might lead. To us, if we choose to see it, the path is plain. Long and tortuous though it be, we can discern its course winding up from the valleys, and sometimes descending again from the hills, but always in the end leading the footsteps of those who have followed it to a loftier station and a wider view. The glory of that sight is with us to confirm our purpose and nerve our will, as through the night we face the tempest which rages to overwhelm us. And what we scarcely saw, when the noon was high and the sky clear, darkness and storm shall reveal in flashes—the path, breasting a summit higher than mortal feet have climbed, yet nearer and easier to win than we knew.

NOTE A

RECOGNITION BY RACES IN ASIA AND AFRICA OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AS NECESSARY TO THEIR FREEDOM.

FREETOWN, *August 26th*, 1914.

‘To his Excellency Sir EDWARD MARSH MEREWETHER, K.C.V.O., C.M.G., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony and Protectorate of Sierra Leone.

‘YOUR EXCELLENCY,—We, the undersigned, Muhammadan Imams (Alimamis), on behalf of ourselves and the Muhammadan community of the Colony, beg leave to approach your Excellency, through the medium of this paper in order to tender, through your Excellency, our sincere sympathy to his Britannic Majesty our Sovereign for the present European war in which Great Britain has been involved. . . .

‘Our anxious wish for victory for Great Britain in the present war has not been without very many good reasons: If we are here to-day practising our religion without molestation, if we, in fact if the black race are to-day sharing with other races the

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blessings of freedom, there is no doubt that it is to Great Britain that we owe this great privilege. Certainly, for, but for Great Britain, with the possession of Africa by the several European Powers, all her native population would have become human chattels to their respective Over-Lords. Some of us have had the privilege of travelling to foreign ports, and from our experience of the treatment received by natives at the hands of their foreign rulers, especially the Germans, whose destruction may God expedite, we cannot but come to the above conclusion. It was a Muhammadan of this Colony who said many years ago, and we still endorse the statement, that if the Sultan of Turkey, the Commander of the Faithful, were to invade and capture Sierra Leone, so that the English were obliged to withdraw therefrom, he would cast in his lot with the English and go with them whithersoever they tended rather than remain with the Commander of the Faithful. Hence it is that at the outbreak of this deplorable war we have been greatly alarmed, and have been rather anxious for victory for Great Britain.

‘Being powerless and feeble we have no other means of helping our Great King in the war than that of prayer to Allah, the All-Powerful, and He may be graciously pleased to grant that Great Britain may come out victorious in the present struggle at an early date, so that she may continue to maintain her supremacy among the Powers. This prayer we have been daily offering since the outbreak of hostilities, and will continue our supplication to the end of the war, and we faithfully believe that our prayer will be accepted and our wish realised, considering that England’s action is based upon righteousness.

‘We beg leave most respectfully to subscribe ourselves as
(In Arabic)

Almami Humaru Jamburier (his X mark)	Foulah
Alfa Muhammad Algbah (his X mark)	Yoruba
Alpha Orhman (his X mark)	Yoruba
Alfa Darami (his X mark)	Mandingo
Alfa Abumba Sillah (his X mark)	Mandingo
Almami Sillah (his X mark)	Temne
Foday Sheikhu (his X mark)	Susu
Ali Kamara (his X mark)	Susu
Almami Foday Yakka (his X mark)	Limba
Alfa Murhtur Tarawali (his X mark)	Sarakuli
Almami Bocari (his X mark)	Mendi
Almami Kangbe (his X mark)	Lokko
Santigi Musa (his X mark)	Torodo
Alfa Humaru (his X mark)	Yoruba

‘Written by H’Dirud Deen, Secretary Committee for Moh. Education and Hon. Sec. to Muhammadan Alimamis of Freetown.’

More significant still is the following extract from *The Times* of August 29, 1914:

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POONA, August 27.

'The Indian agitator Mr. Tilak, who was sentenced to six years' transportation in 1908 for publishing seditious articles and was released last June, made a speech here to-day urging every one to support the Government in every way possible. The present, he said, was not the time to press for reforms. They must sink all differences. The presence of their rulers was desirable even from the point of view of self-interest. *Reuter.*'

NOTE B

MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT MONROE DELIVERED TO CONGRESS ON DECEMBER 2, 1823

'In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced, that we resent injuries, or make preparations for our defence. With the movements in this hemisphere we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect, from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments. And to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore to candour, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare, that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But, with the governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration, and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. In war between those new governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recogni-

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tion; and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur, which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

'The late events in Spain and Portugal show that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced, than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed, by force, in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interpositions may be carried on the same principle, is a question in which all independent powers, whose governments differ from theirs, are interested; even those most remote, and surely none more so than the United States. Our policy, in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early age of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same; which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm and manly policy; meeting, in all instances, the just claims of every power—submitting to injuries from none. But, in regard to those continents, circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain, and those new governments, and their distances from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course.'¹

¹ *The Annual Register, 1823; Law Cases and Narratives*, pp. 193-4.

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